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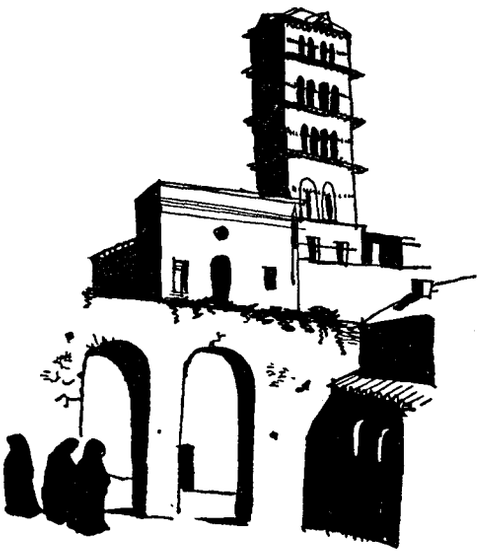
Their Profession Was War
– Norbert Muhler

THE

# Commonweal

## Fear and Freedom

by Jerome G. Kerwin



## Setback for the Christian Democrats

by Gunnar D. Kumlien

Volume LVIII, Number 13 July 3, 1953 Twenty Cent

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THE COMMONWEAL
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16

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Published weekly, printed and copyrighted 1953, in the U. S. A. by The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y., MUrray Hill 3-9685. Entered as second-class matter, February 9, 1934, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. U. S. and Canada, $7 a year. Foreign, $8. Single copies, 20c.

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# THE Commonweal

## week by week

### SATELLITE UNREST

THE extraordinary worker demonstrations in East Berlin and other centers in East Germany serve as a climax to the popular unrest that in recent months has been growing behind the Iron Curtain. In the Russian zone of Germany the peasants have fiercely resisted requisitioning and collectivization. Many have fled to West Berlin and freedom. Now the East German industrial workers have given such vent to their antagonism to the regime that Russian tanks and soldiers were required to subdue them. Great tension is also reported in Poland, while the puppet Czech regime has yet to recover from the recent popular outburst against the reduction in living standards resulting from drastic currency reform.

Certain conclusions follow from these unmistakable evidences of widespread unrest. The anti-Soviet sentiments of the satellite peoples should serve as a certain limited insurance against a Russian attack that could be sabotaged by difficulties within those border States. Yet the very violence of these demonstrations at a time when the Kremlin was making conciliatory gestures may set the USSR off on a new ruthless and aggressive tack. In any case subject peoples with bare fists and paving stones are helpless against the machine pistols and tanks of the occupying forces. The Kremlin is still firmly in the saddle.

If the Berlin rising marked the climax of resistance to Soviet Russia among the satellites, it also coincided with several indications that the role of the United States in Western Europe is changing. The big cuts in the American foreign aid program, the weeks in which France has been unable to form a government and the Christian Democrat losses in Italy spell a decline in American influence. The task has somewhat shifted from the days when the primary object of the United States was to create enough divisions in Europe to withstand a threatened Russian onslaught.

Observers tend to be vague, however, when it comes to outlining what is possible on the Continent now. The need for a European army continues —likewise for a formidable network of airbases. Under its new leadership the Soviet Union has renounced none of its grandiose ambitions. Willingness to reach an Austrian settlement with the West is still not manifest. And, until it is, the chances of a general European settlement remain dim indeed.

For their part, the peoples of Europe now wish to reassert their independence. And if in response to their wishes—and the behests of the Washington economizers—American withdrawal becomes a fact, only the Germans would seem able to supersede us. For one thing, German capital and German technicians would again find employment in exploiting resources and building up industries in neighboring lands.

But would such operations extend beyond the present confines of Western Europe? The Germans themselves ardently want to be reunited. The Czechs, Poles, Hungarians and others would like once again to be sovereign members of the ancient European community. But whereas a strong and united Europe has been a leading American objective, the Soviets have been working for division and weakness among their neighbors even to this day—and have held grimly to their fringe of satellite States.

AS long as a vision of union, security and peace is kept alive outside the Iron Curtain, there is always some chance that it will hasten the day of a revolution within Russia—and the hope of such a possibility keeps alight as long as the present struggle among Stalin's successors remains unresolved. It is a possibility, anything but a certainty.

One alternative to merely holding the line, developing the democratic freedoms and waiting for the internal collapse of the Soviet Union is to prepare for an auspicious moment to take the diplomatic initiative. When the right time comes, the West would then propose a bold new over-all agreement to achieve at least peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union. Such a proposal would have to



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involve sufficient inducements for the USSR to adopt a more peaceful course and at the same time not constitute any precarious lowering of the defenses of the West. It would have to be based on Allied armed strength as well as the deepest sentiments of the various peoples.

Much depends on the eventual outcome of the present struggle for power within the Soviet Union. If more tractable leadership should be the ultimate result, the West will need to be ready with a convincing program.

### GIBE AT THE TVA

BAD names tend to stick, particularly when they make the headlines. When President Eisenhower picked out the Tennessee Valley Authority as an example of "creeping socialism" at a recent press conference, there were many who felt affronted. It was an assault, first, upon local pride. State governors and newspapermen vied with each other in pointing out how the President was mistaken. Some local observers were unkind enough to contrast this recent comment with Mr. Eisenhower's campaign speeches in the area.

No one can deny the benefits that have accrued to the citizens of at least seven states from TVA operations, nor what it has done in such areas as flood control, defense production, conservation of natural resources and the like. The big arguments have always dealt with such matters as cost figures, the suitability of subsidizing cheap electric power in a single region, competition with private power companies, etc. Adversaries have also tried to build the erroneous impression that this venture pays little or no taxes.

## NEXT WEEK

SEAN O'FAOLAIN discusses the problems of being a writer.

"I have no patience with young would-be writers anywhere who say: 'But it is all so dreary, there is nothing to write about!' . . . The answer to 'What is there to write about?' anywhere is in the title of Silone's novel, *The Seed Beneath the Snow*. No writer has the right to blame his material for his own failure to integrate the little lives he knows with the universal life of man. A writer may, like a spider, have to spin his web out of his bowels, but if he is a writer at all he is an epical spider shooting his fragile threads from his dusty corner to span the world."

But the TVA has demonstrated what can be accomplished for the whole community by over-all development of a river valley—a thing no private enterprise, or combination of such enterprises, has been able to undertake. It has also provided a terrific stimulus to individual farmers and hundreds of private business enterprises. TVA was intended not only to benefit a single region (and produce power, fertilizer and other goods for other regions) but to provide a model for similar projects wherever they would be useful in other sections of this country. For revitalizing regional projects that build up soils and homesteads, workshops and factories, facilities for navigation, forest resources and public health, no one has yet come up with a feasible alternative to initiative by the state.

### JUSTICE DOUGLAS

THE last-minute stay of execution issued by Justice Douglas in the Rosenberg case was dramatic, even in a case so filled with drama that it has long been the subject of heated discussion all over the world. But why there should have been such widespread resentment over Justice Douglas' action is hard to understand.

Douglas is an outspoken liberal Democrat who holds off-the-bench views that are not currently popular with the majority of the voters of the United States. On the one hand, it is reported that some of his liberal admirers were very upset at his intervention in this controversial case. Their idea seems to have been that this is a time for liberals to keep their heads down. Above all, they feared that Justice Douglas by his action contributed to the belief that liberals favor a "soft" policy toward subversion and espionage.

At the other end of the political spectrum, feelings ran even higher. Somehow those who were outraged at the very idea of clemency appeals on behalf of the Rosenbergs acted as if Justice Douglas has become a part of a gigantic conspiracy to cheat justice. A Democratic Representative from Georgia even threatened Douglas with impeachment, and for a time it was reported that there was considerable support for such a move developing among other Congressmen.

By now it should be quite obvious that in acting as he did Justice Douglas was completely within his powers. A legal point was raised which had not previously been presented to the court. In the opinion of Justice Douglas, the point of law involved was a substantial one which deserved consideration by the full Court. When the Court convened, six Justices disagreed, and Douglas' point of view was



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out-voted. But the other Justices made it quite clear that Douglas had in no way overstepped the bounds of propriety in this matter.

Now that the Rosenbergs have actually been executed, it is unlikely that more will be heard about impeaching Justice Douglas. But the trend in American life which the incident illustrates is dangerous. In recent years there has been a sharp increase in such threats against individual judges who render unpopular decisions. Judge Medina, for example, went through a long and nerve-racking experience, presiding at the trial of the Communist leaders. Now he is something of a national hero, because the outcome was what the majority of the people wanted. But how would he be treated in the press and in Congress if the case had gone the other way?

This kind of public pressure on judges is an insidious thing. Protection of due process of law is more important than any conviction or execution, however great the popular demand. Those who attack the independence of the judiciary by such weapons as impeachment threats are, however unwittingly, imperiling freedom in a way infinitely more difficult to detect than espionage.

### TURNING ON THE HEAT

WHEN the Administration bill for foreign aid was being considered in the House, an amendment was tacked on which would have withheld half the proposed aid from NATO nations until the establishment of the European army was accomplished. Happily, Senator Taft has now expressed the hope that the Senate will drop this amendment in considering the measure, and it seems likely that his colleagues will comply with his wishes.

Most Americans are anxious to see the European army progress as quickly as possible from the blueprint stage to concrete, tank-and-rifle reality. But such amendments are the worst way in the world to go about accomplishing this end, as friends of the U.S. in Europe have already testified.

To imagine the effect of such ill-considered actions in Europe, all one has to do is imagine the situation if roles were reversed. Nothing would be more likely to defeat a proposed measure in this country than admonitions from abroad that we must act in a prescribed fashion or face the consequences. European nations—who are allies, not satellites—are just as sensitive to such pressures as Americans would be in similar circumstances. If some of our legislators would keep this fact in mind, our foreign policy would stand a greater chance of success.

### CHAMBERS AND THE COMMITTEES

REBECCA West recently answered those Americans who had attacked her for the articles she published defending America against the European charges of despotism and "terror" in this country. Miss West says something which we feel is enormously important. She is speaking about the American liberals who charged her with being an apologist for Senator McCarthy: "[I saw] something of Germany in the early 30s, and witnessed the futile opposition to Hitler as it demonstrated that, in ideological warfare, liberals cannot afford to be silly or untruthful. The other side can be these things without losing their dynamic power, for they are not thereby betraying their own creed. But if we abandon our sense of reality and our honesty, we are false to our vows and we become disguised reactionaries, contriving the defeat of the forces we pretend to serve."

Now Whittaker Chambers is not a reactionary. He is a gifted man who has suffered a great deal in order to be true to himself, and he deserves the respect of anyone concerned with the problem of the internal threat of Communism. But respect is not incompatible with disagreement, and we disagree profoundly with the logic of the argument he presents in the June 22 *Life*. And we feel that the quotation from Rebecca West is pertinent, because the obscurantism of the Left which she describes provides a sitting target for the argument of Whittaker Chambers; and he, in turn, gives in his article a graceful demonstration of obscurantism of the Right. Defending the methods of current Congressional investigating committees, he makes a case which ignores the fundamental issues as blandly as a glib used-car dealer ignores the fact that his freshly-painted product is an exhausted veteran of the police traffic force.

First of all, Chambers sets up a straw man. He identifies the critics of the investigations as the voice of "the liberal neurosis," which "sustains similar shock whenever a move is made at any point to expose the Communist conspiracy." He makes it clear that these liberals are not Communists, but says that they are "un-Marxian socialists the focus of whose hopes and plans is the welfare state on a national and international scale."

Such people certainly make up part of the opposition to the methods of such committees. Mr. Chambers ignores, however, the fact that serious and responsible criticism has come from conservatives, from newspapers which supported President Eisenhower, from individuals who have never been "un-Marxian socialists" and from publications, such as this magazine, which fought Communism and the



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popular front in the 30s, long before Mr. Chambers arrived on the witness stand.

Mr. Chambers limits himself to the subject of academic freedom, and in doing so excludes from discussion Senator McCarthy, who is not a member of either of the two committees which have been investigating Communism in the schools.

Now this is a remarkable omission. The singular thing about the current of right-wing opinion in this country today is that it has managed to pour itself into a mold marked "McCarthyism." As the Alsops have pointed out, Joseph McCarthy has done something no other American demagogue has ever done. He has united the whole fascinating bank of right-wing groups, from certain conservative business men and many sincere if not particularly well-informed Catholics, to the most malice-laden of the xenophobic hate sheets which burden the postal inspectors. Riding at the head of this army, like Gengis Khan with a television camera, the Senator has led an assault which has materially altered the temper of American life.

Without him, the Jenner and Velde committees would be inconsequential. Their work is certainly preferable to some of the haphazard procedures and irresponsible adventures of the old Dies committee. Their danger lies only in the fact that for every questionable thing they do, there is a semi-organized reactionary force to exploit the injustice.

And when Chambers, having so arbitrarily particularized the discussion, goes on to cite respectable interrogations carried out by those two committees, his graceful leap from the unimpeachable specific to the general vindication of Congressional investigations is meaningless. And the key to his philosophy is in this pregnant statement: The Communist conspiracy has presented American law and institutions with a unique threat, and "those laws and institutions are no longer fully able to protect themselves by traditional means."

Chambers ends with a moving statement about the significance of one man treated unjustly by Congressional committees—such a crime, he says, wounds "every man alive on earth." He concludes that no man has been unjustly treated. We share his concern about the meaning of single injustices, but we recall things Mr. Chambers apparently did not see. We recall James Wechsler grilled about the editorial policy of his newspaper, the ostensible reason for his appearance before Senator McCarthy's committee disregarded. We recall Theodore Kaghan and Reed Harris attacked by the McCarthy committee.

We have seen these things in the past five months alone. If one respects the tradition that men are innocent until proven guilty, then these men are innocent of crimes against their country. Yet they received extra-judicial punishment in the form of damaged reputations or lost jobs. There have been others like them.

Mr. Chambers says that he has "yet to see one witness called before a Congressional hearing who could be called 'innocent' . . . in the sense that he had no connection whatever with the [subject matter]." That is not the issue. What is at issue is what happens to these men. Were they labeled traitors and yet not indicted? Was there a scrupulous effort to discriminate between the socialist and the Communist; between the critic of Chiang Kai-shek and the Communist; between the man who left the Party and subsequently fought it, and the present Communist?

To anyone who has carefully followed the hearings we have mentioned, the answer must be no. And to anyone who has followed the career of Senator McCarthy, the argument of Whittaker Chambers must seem tragically specious.

### BLOW AT COVENANTS

BY an eminently sensible decision, the Supreme Court has further weakened the legal status of the once-formidable racial restrictive covenant in housing. In 1948, the Court ruled that restrictive covenants on real estate were legal on a voluntary basis, but that they could not be enforced in the courts. Now the Court has extended and strengthened that decision by ruling that a home owner cannot be sued for violating such a covenant.

In delivering the majority opinion on the case, which specifically involved a Los Angeles property owner, Justice Minton said: "The Court will not permit or require California to coerce respondent to pay damages for failure to observe a restrictive covenant that this Court would deny California the right to enforce in equity or that this Court would deny California the right to incorporate in a statute, or that could not be enforced in a Federal jurisdiction because such a covenant would be contrary to public policy."

With two Justices not participating, the Court's decision was by a six-to-one division, with Chief Justice Vinson dissenting. Although a logical extension of the 1948 decision, the verdict in this case is nevertheless important and should move us a little closer to the end of such covenants. Coming hard on the heels of the favorable decision in the case of the District of Columbia's "lost laws" on racial restrictions in restaurants, the decision provides another hopeful sign that legal blocks in the way of equality will one by one be pulled away.



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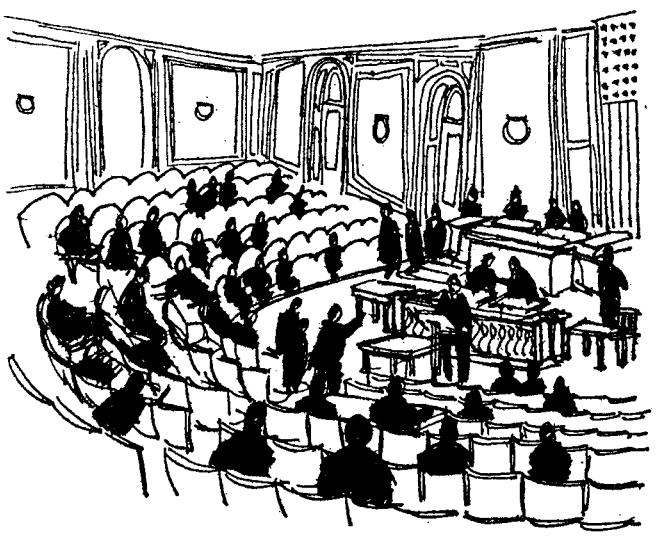
# Fear and Freedom

**"WE ARE NEVER FREE FROM THE DANGER OF REDUCING UNITY IN DIVERSITY TO UNIFORMITY."**

JEROME G. KERWIN

THE hysteria of war seems to be upon this nation. An ever-so-cautiously expressed apprehension of the dangers inherent in such a mental climate may bring down on any of us suspicion of subversion.



We have known periods like this before in our history. There were the fears aroused by sympathizers with the French Revolution; the fears of Anglophile conspiracy during the War of 1812; the fears of disloyalty during the Civil War; the fear of anarchists in the early 1930s; the fear of left-wing radicals after that war; and now the fear of Communists, and their agents and fellow-travelers. Each period has yielded real traitors, whose exposure fanned the flames of hatred, distrust, confusion, and suspicion.

Present fears are intensified because of the existence of a widespread revolutionary ideology bolstered by a strong imperialistic power and millions of devotees throughout the world. We are sure neither of ourselves nor our allies. We are far less sure of the powers of resistance of the newly-freed masses of Asia or the colonial peoples of Africa.

A sense of insecurity has gripped our people more firmly than any other people. The material factors that make us the wealthiest and most powerful nation on earth do not reassure us; and we seem to have lost faith in the strength of the ideals that this Republic was founded upon. The voice of the demagogue is loud in the land; woe to him who would oppose it!

The eminent and able Bishop of Worcester, the Most Reverend John J. Wright, said not long ago that this country is entering upon a period in which any idea that is unfamiliar or unpopular—because it is new or unfamiliar—will be under suspicion. This spirit, he continued, "may result in a mood of reaction in those areas of wholesome creative thinking where new approaches and fresh evaluations are precisely what we need in order to bring intellectual life closer to moral and spiritual inspiration."

Suspicion in such a time falls especially on our colleges and universities. From their inception in the Middle Ages, universities have always been suspect—even when they operated under the aegis of the Church. To the people of the environs they seemed to attract wild and unruly students; to common people everywhere they appeared to be engaged in originating strange ideas. To alumni no university is ever as sound as it used to be. Colleges and universities will always operate under some popular suspicion. Today investigators look upon the institutions of higher learning as happy hunting grounds where no seasonal license is required. If one opposes this kind of indiscriminate search for Communists and fellow-travelers, one is met immediately with the statement that suspects have been found.

SINCE there are tens of thousands of faculty members in our universities, it should occasion no surprise that some credulous and weak-willed persons have been found among them. Rather than grounds for general opprobrium and further distrust the very paucity of the number of suspects should be a matter of pride to the American people.

Teachers constitute a devoted group in our society —devoted to their scholarship; devoted to their stu-

Mr. Kerwin is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, and director of the Walgreen Foundation. This article is the substance of an address delivered at the commencement exercises of the Catholic University of America.



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dents; and devoted in an undemonstrative way to the country in which they carry on their labors. I might even be permitted to say that as a self-sacrificing group they seem to occupy a place little lower than the clergy.

Many of the names brought to public attention have been of people associated with Communist causes a decade or more ago. Who cannot recall those years when the Communist Party proclaimed its undying love for democracy and democratic methods? And it did so most convincingly. My own mail in that period contained booklets and fliers demonstating why Catholics and Communists should work together for the improvement of the working classes. I can recall the formation of a so-called Catholic Communist group on the campus of one of our Catholic universities.

There was the day, too, when speeches from both sides of the aisle in Congress praised the brave Russian people for their resistance to Hitlerian aggression. The number of organizations formed for the promotion of internal and inter-allied unity grew like mushrooms. Many otherwise prudent persons, with the American penchant for joining, affiliated themselves with a new group each week. I marvel at the small number of university people that, innocently or otherwise, got themselves involved in Communist causes at that time. I cannot understand how so many escaped.

How different is the present situation on our campuses, when the very word controversial sends everyone to cover and when one signs nothing more dangerous than a departmental report! Now when one talks of Soviet Russia, Communism, or even capitalism, one must be sure to preface all remarks with a statement that one is not a Communist and never has been and has no sympathy with Communism. These evidences of caution may be harmless in themselves so long as they do not indicate a growing intimidation of our teachers and scholars by politically motivated investigators.

ACADEMIC freedom is more than an issue; it is a valuable principle. Though one may question the misuse of academic freedom, the tendency, altogether too notable, to scoff at anyone that invokes the principle demonstrates the dangers lurking in the present climate of public opinion.

Universities throughout the world have grown great on this principle of independence. On this principle American colleges and universities have made incontestable contributions to American life. Once this principle is undermined the *raison d'être* of academic life is doomed.

As long as democracy exists it will have to ward off the tyranny of popular opinion. We are never free from the danger of reducing unity in diversity to uniformity. Democracy in its very nature assumes that dissent will exist; it assumes a pluralistic society of differing interests and varied groups. Its fundamental unity must always lie in the principles of the natural law that permit broad areas of freedom for the pursuit of the truth.

Colleges and universities are communities of scholars in varied, specialized fields. These scholars are also citizens, with all the obligations and rights attached to citizenship. Both as citizens and as scholars they have an obligation to take an intelligent interest in the welfare of the community and the state. Their connection with institutions that are in themselves politically neutral should never require them to stand aside in silence in any controversy that stirs the commonwealth.

The timidity and fear of some of our universities at the participation of faculty members in active political life constitute a scandal. If the American public does not know by this time that the names of a group of faculty members from a university on a petition for a cause or a candidate do not officially commit that university, then our American public is indeed naive and needs more education than we have been giving it. Our need is for more, not less, participation by scholars in public causes—even though they be politically controversial.

WHY is there an outcry from academicians against legislative investigations, state or national, of colleges and universities? Do they claim a special immunity? Are they blind to the dangers of Communist conspiracy? Do they desire to protect traitors in our midst? Educators reply with a decided "No" to each of these questions. Their concern is with the motives of the investigators, the procedures in the investigations, and the possible dangers to academic freedom that may result.

A legislator is a politician. There is no harm in that. Politicians have, however, a weather eye out for re-election. A few of them will seize upon any issue, real or spurious, to boost their fame and publicity. They do not seek a quiet, effective examination of a problem but prefer glaring headlines and dramatic performances on radio and television. The investigating committee has itself become a worthy subject for investigation. Not only academicians but lawyers also are to an increasing extent concerned with its procedures.

Before some of these committees witnesses are questioned in public in a manner that no court in the land would sanction. The witness is not informed in advance of the nature of the charges against him. He is not confronted with the witnesses against him and is denied the right of cross-examination. He can-



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not avail himself of compulsory counsel. Often his right to testify in his own defense is denied. He may be sent to jail for refusal to answer a question—a question that a court could not require him to answer.

William T. Gossett, vice president and general counsel of the Ford Motor Company, has recently said of congressional investigations: "In such an inquiry there is no assumption that the individual is innocent until proved guilty. There are none of the safeguards of a trial to which, by the Constitution and the law, each man is entitled. Instead, there is a type of trial by public opinion, a pillorying of individuals not accused of crimes—of individuals only suspected of being engaged in or knowing something about some improper activity. And the rules are the same whether the witness is innocent or guilty."

IT is no consolation to academicians or to any other loyal Americans that guilty people have been unearthed by dubious methods. If efficient means are available for unearthing subversive conspirators, it is too much to ask us to sacrifice our constitutional safeguards for the discovery of the guilty or the enhancement of the political prestige of legislators. If legislative committees will investigate, let them do so by ordinary grand jury methods, without fanfare and publicity.

Universities and their faculties, nevertheless, should cooperate reasonably with these committees. Since Communism constitutes a conspiracy against the law of the land, no Communist Party member can be suffered to teach in our colleges. Communism is the enemy of all freedom—academic or otherwise. While Communists as teachers may not be tolerated, Communism must be taught objectively and analyzed without histrionics and melodrama. The democratic order will stand up well by comparison.

The charge of fellow-traveling must be considered most carefully. The grave danger that the defender of an unpopular but conceivably worthy cause may be unjustly victimized by such a charge by ignorant inquisitors has been made all too evident in recent years. If legislative investigators must discover genuine fellow-travelers, let them note very judiciously how frequently a suspected person has associated with genuine subversives; let them note the nature of the association, when it occurred, and how active the person was. And let them put away the radio microphone and the television camera while they are so engaged. The mere appearance of a person's name on an organization's list should not be sufficient evidence of guilt. If an investigating committee finds that it has sufficient evidence on a person's loyalty to raise the question of his fitness to teach, let it hand over these findings to proper college or university authorities for appropriate action. If criminal activity is involved, the regular judicial processes are available.

Should Communist students be tolerated? In general, I should say "Yes," if they do not hold positions as paid organizers of their party, if they observe the ordinary rules of behavior of a college society, and if they pursue their programs of study. While a college or university is not a custodial institution or reform school, it has the certain means of educating our youth as good citizens. While exceptions must surely exist, I have never known a Communist student who has remained a Communist in later life. I can conceive of his persevering in his left-wing attachments if he pursues a lop-sided educational program confined to the technical arts and sciences.

THIRTY years ago, during a period of hysteria similar to our own, a committee of distinguished lawyers had this to say: "Free men cannot be driven and oppressed; they must be led. Free men respect justice and follow truth, but arbitrary power they will oppose until the end of time. There is no danger of revolution so great as that created by suppression, by ruthlessness, and by violation of the simple rules of American law and American decency."

Educators anxiously ask themselves how far political interference will go. Will there be a general movement for some form of state control that will tell colleges and university instructors what books they may use and what books they may not use? A Catholic wonders how tolerant a state censor would be of recent statements on the capitalist order by the French, the Australian, and the Canadian hierarchies. Educators, looking toward the future, ponder the possibility of the removal of loyal but unpopular scholars from academic posts. The faculties of private institutions know that hanging over them is always the threat of the removal of tax exemption if they do not conform to arbitrarily determined standards set to please every whim of public opinion. What today seems improbable, tomorrow is possible, and the next day becomes an actuality.

The chief virtue in politics is prudence, and calm objectivity and cool judgment are among the marks of an educated citizen. We have a right to expect such citizens to shun popular crusades of condemnation and recrimination and to keep in mind the spirit of fair play and decency that has made this nation honored. We have a right to expect that the spirit of charity will prevail in their judgments of fellow-citizens and that they speak out boldly against any person or group that would spread unfounded suspicion and distrust throughout the land. We have a right to ask them as Americans to remember the struggle of men through the centuries for the freedoms that we so happily possess and can so easily destroy.



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# Setback for the Christian Democrats

*Rome*

THE Italian elections were as exciting and dramatic this year as in 1948, when Italy was very close to becoming a Communist people's democracy. The issue was clear-cut then, and the election decision was an emergency solution, whereas this time the elections have revealed deep changes which have taken place during the quiet and steady rule of the Christian Democratic party—changes which go far beyond Italy directly to concern the Catholic world.

Eighty-three years ago the troops of the Italian king conquered Rome and deprived the Pope of his temporal power. Until twenty-four years ago the Popes remained voluntary prisoners in the Vatican, and during that time their temporal power was compressed as in a nutshell. Twenty-four years ago the Lateran Treaty released some of the outside pressure on the nutshell and the tremendous energies within, which seem to have been stimulated rather than weakened, began to expand. Seven years ago the Italian king was swept away as rapidly as his great-grandfather had arrived. The pressure on the nutshell was gone and the energies within expanded freely into the empty room round it, well beyond the borders of Italy. And the impact was so great that it stopped another wave of expanding energies coming from the East and saved Europe from Communism.

That, in a few words, is the background of the Italian elections of five years ago. The clergy participated like shock-troops in the all-out struggle, and all anti-Communists were grateful to them. Italy, reduced in size by rapid communications and in need of leadership after the defeat, began more and more to look like the Church-State which the Pope had been deprived of eighty-three years ago. In spite of the fact that one out of three Italians stubbornly refused to surrender pro-Communist convictions even under pain of excommunication, the Church's influence in Italy was the greatest since the Middle Ages. That is the background to these last elections.

The Christian Democratic rule has been enlightened, stable, and truly democratic, unlike the governments of the two other great Latin countries, France and Spain—the former democratic but unstable, and the latter stable, but undemocratic. It offered ideal conditions to Italy for recovery from the war; it gratefully accepted American aid; it granted maximum freedom to private enterprise; it neutralized the Communists without persecuting them; with genuine European vision it wholeheartedly supported the European Army and the European Community.

Now there are many tourists, the Italian lira is one of the solidest currencies in Europe, and national income has never been so high. In spite of the increase in population, the great gap between poor and rich, high prices, and the nearly two million chronically unemployed, there is an air of humming, cheerful, prosperity in Italy today, which is, if not directly, at least indirectly, the accomplishment of the Vatican-sponsored Christian-Democratic government. That is a fact, and has to be recognized.

IT was with some surprise that the Italian people discovered that the clergy had been directed to take part in the 1953 election campaign with the same energy as in 1948. The Communist danger, it was said, has not decreased; on the contrary it is greater than ever. Then Stalin died and the Russians intensified their propaganda for peace and appeasement, followed closely by the Italian Communists, who have beaten all records during the campaign for apparent harmlessness and all-round reconciliation.

The Christian Democrats said that it was more necessary than ever for Italy to have a stable government, and that such a government could only be obtained through the new electoral law by which the party or coalition which won more than fifty per cent of all votes (only the Center was considered able to reach that figure) would be guaranteed a safe majority by means of a bonus of fifteen per cent. The faithful were requested "in conscience" not only to abstain from voting for the Communists or the fellow-traveling Nenni Socialists, but not to give their votes to the Right either, since that would indirectly benefit the Communists.

The new electoral law was heavily attacked not only by the extreme Left and the extreme Right for obvious reasons, but also by many Christian Democrats, who felt that it was a dangerous departure from the path of real democracy in the Western sense of the word. Except for that, the position of the Christian Democratic center and its small allies, the Social Democrats, the Liberals and the Republicans, all with excellent democratic records, was very strong. It clearly represented all the pro-Democratic forces in Italy, whereas the opposition on the Left and on the Right was as clearly totalitarian and undemocratic. No one could deny it: what the clergy requested from the faithful "in conscience" was to back up democracy.

What happened? The Christian Democratic center lost heavily to the Right and to the Left and went down



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from fifty-two per cent in the Chamber of Deputies to a fraction of one per cent short of fifty per cent, while the totalitarian opposition on the Right and on the Left won a fraction of one per cent more than fifty per cent and, had they been in coalition, would have benefited from the fifteen per cent bonus. This was in spite of the fact that nearly ninety-four per cent of the people entitled to vote did vote—an all-time record which proved how seriously the Italians took the election. Last time, when the danger was much greater, the voters' participation totaled only ninety-two per cent. Without a shadow of a doubt, the 1953 result expressed the real will of the people.

The Communists with their faithful Nenni Socialists increased from thirty-one per cent to thirty-five per cent, and the Right, represented by the Monarchists and the neo-Fascists, increased from 4.8 per cent in 1948 to 12.7 per cent. Small independent nuisance formations made up the remaining 2.5 per cent.

WHY did the democratic center lose so heavily and why did the totalitarian opposition gain so much? The reasons seem to be several. First of all, this

may be considered one of the early fruits of the intensified Russian appeasement policy. Already the Communist gains in the recent elections in France and Denmark have shown that the Communists no longer appear so dangerous to the voters, and that people who before Stalin's death would have hesitated to vote Communist are now reassured. Anti-Communists too are reassured, and vote more freely according to their own taste and fancy. And then, of course, there is the wear and tear which any party in power undergoes, regardless of its accomplishments.

But all this does not appear to explain the losses well enough, particularly if one keeps in mind the extremely high participation. There are symptoms among the voters who abandoned the Christian Democratic center, and even among the people who still vote for it—and who emphasize the "still"—which indicate the rebirth in Italy of something thought long dead—the anti-clerical Catholic.

The party which seems to be the refuge of these Catholics, who are both anti-Communist and anti-clerical, is the Monarchist party, which proportionally increased more than any other party and seems to contain the most contradictory elements, from unrepentant fascism to free-masonry and liberalism. The anti-clerical Catholic often is a stout Catholic, indeed, sometimes is himself a priest, but is violently opposed to the temporal power of the Church and is convinced that the Church's temporal power is always in inverse proportion to its spiritual strength.

This is a special form of anti-clericalism, quite different from the fanatic French brand, and probably possible only in Italy, for it is full of deference for the Holy Father and respect for the Church as such. It is not by chance that these anti-clerical Catholics, who seem to reappear like the shadow of the temporal power of the Vatican, gather now once more under the sign of the monarchy, which thus returns to its source and optimistically prepares a comeback.

The anti-clericals might have gathered under any other political symbol which does not mix Christianity with politics and is decidedly anti-Communist. They did not react against the intervention of the clergy during the last elections, considering it a sort of emergency action, but they do react against the 1953 intervention.

If they are told that they have to obey the hierarchy "in conscience," they reply bluntly that, as Italians, they and their fathers and grandfathers have witnessed too many political mistakes committed by the hierarchy to obey as far as politics is concerned. They do not deny the clergy the right or even the duty to intervene in politics. The example of the countries on the other side of the Iron Curtain shows how necessary it can be. But they react against "too much"—and they as laymen consider themselves entitled to fix what "too much" is quite as well as the hierarchy. It is a question of degree, not of principle.

All this makes it exceedingly difficult for the Christian Democratic center to sound out the Monarchists about entering a coalition. The Monarchists are generally considered to be the only possible alliance for the center, and the absolute majority the center has managed to save is hardly sufficient to form a stable government. As the Monarchist Party has proved to be rather loose and its program vague, it might split up and a part of it, considered democratically acceptable, enter a future government, thus weakening the fascist elements in the totalitarian opposition.

On the Left the situation is quite different. Here the all-dominating question is whether the Socialists of the Left are able to break with the Communists. If they do, a government formed of Socialists and Chris-



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tian Democrats is possible if not probable. On the other hand, if they do not, the Nenni Socialists might in the end be joined by the Social Democrats, who lost heavily owing to their collaboration with the Christian Democrats. Thus the weight of the opposition would be increased on the Left.

THE policy of the Christian-Democratic center after the last elections could be summed up in the following way: If possible, try to govern alone, with a precarious majority, maneuvering the two totalitarian oppositions against each other. If this should not be possible, try to attract fractions of the two oppositions, using participation in power as bait, attempting to "democratize" these fractions.

This is, of course, only a provisional policy until the next elections. A paradoxical situation has arisen. The attempt to group and guide all good Catholics in one formation has failed, not because there are not enough of them, but because they are too many.

The Left is already attacking, and argues as follows: If only those who "in conscience" voted for the Christian Democratic center are real Catholics, and the remaining fifty per cent are either frowned upon if on the Right or excommunicated if on the Left, then only half of the Italian population is Catholic. And if only half of the Italian population is Catholic, legislation, the Lateran Treaty and the constitution have to be changed accordingly, as they are all based on the presumption that Italy is almost entirely Catholic.

In reality, there are bewildered and ignorant Catholics on the Left, who face even excommunication to vote Communist, but see no other way to improve their miserable standard of living, and themselves baptize their new-born babies should the parish priest refuse. There are Catholics on the Right, who vote fascist in the belief that the only way to solve the Communist problem is with force.

If the present trend continues—and it was already noticeable during last year's by-elections—the Vatican-sponsored democratic center will lose ground, in spite of its excellent performance, and will sooner or later be compelled to collaborate with the declared anti-clericals on the Left or the veiled anti-clericals on the Right; and this will be most difficult since the center has the label "Christian."

GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN.

**Coming Soon in The Commonweal**

**ON BEING AN IRISH WRITER**
***by Sean O'Faolain***

**THE REVOLT OF THE CHILDREN**
***by Manya Harari***

***THE LABOR MOVEMENT***

# Before You Walk, You Crawl

SINCE 1931, Catholics have had a comeback when somebody said, "Well, what is *your* solution to poverty and unemployment?"

Then the informed Catholic could say, "Just read *Quadragesimo Anno,* that's all. It's all explained in that one encyclical."

This was a handy comeback, because it was obvious that the other guy would never read *Quadragesimo Anno* and so it would never be necessary to discuss the contents of that encyclical yourself.

Every now and then, however, somebody would read *Quadragesimo Anno,* and some were convinced and some were not. But poverty and unemployment still walk at large in the world and if we ever go back to a peacetime economy, the odds are that we shall have another large slice of both right here in this country.

Pius XI made the excellent point that "as the situation now stands, hiring and offering for hire in the so-called labor market separate men into two divisions, as into battle lines, and the contest between these divisions turns the labor market itself almost into a battlefield where, face to face, the opposing lines struggle bitterly."

In Europe they know more about class war than we do here in the land of opportunity, where the worker of today is the vice-president of tomorrow, and the labor leader of Monday is the union-buster of Tuesday.

But as the class lines become more and more narrow, and the golden opportunities fade away, even here we are coming to see how difficult it is to work out a solution to any industrial or economic problem when capital and labor sit down together with no other language but "We want more dough for less work!" and "You union guys won't be satisfied until you put us out of business entirely."

Collective bargaining is a great and essential ingredient of any free world, but the relationship of the bargaining table, friendly as it may sometimes become, is not the relationship upon which you build together a new and better world.

Pius XI saw this, and, much as he recognized the need for free and strong trade unions, he saw a greater need for institutions which would bind up the wounds and heal the animosities of our industrial society.

So he advocated what have variously been called vocational groups, occupational groups, or in this coun-



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try, industry councils. The Pope did not go into detail, and the experts differ among themselves, but certain outlines emerge. Take the steel industry. Ideally, under the industry council plan, you would have a national council representing the United Steelworkers, CIO, the Iron and Steel Institute (employers), and the public, chosen much as the tripartite war labor boards were chosen. You would also have regional and local councils and councils for various subdivisions of the industry. And in the individual plants you would have plant councils, also known as joint production committees.

As Pius XI said, after defending the justice of the wage contract against the onslaughts of the anarcho-syndicalists (for an example of the latter among American Catholics, read Robert Ludlow in *The Catholic*

*Worker*): "We consider it more advisable, however, in the present condition of human society that, so far as is possible, the work-contract be somewhat modified by a partnership contract, as is already being done in various ways and with no small advantage to workers and owners. Workers and other employees thus become sharers in ownership or management or participate in some fashion in the profits received."

THERE is a good case to be made for the thesis that just as a man, in so far as he is mature, develops into self-control out of the externally-controlled period of childhood, so men in society develop from the controlled systems of monarchy and colonialism into a self-controlled system of representative government, also known as democracy. This seems to be a logical rule of human development, as Pius XII intimated in his Christmas message of 1944.

If it is, and I believe it is, then it holds for industrial life as well as for political. Few of the absolute monarchs, or dictators, have yielded their power voluntarily. Unions, aided by government, have had to exert forcible pressure through strikes and legal sanctions in order to get their feet in the doors in the form of a right to share in the setting of policy as to wages and working conditions.

In Europe, coalitions of Socialists and Christian Democrats have legislated various approximations to the industry council plan, sometimes referred to as "co-determination," in Western Germany, Belgium, Holland and France.

Recently I saw an old friend, a Belgian priest and sociologist who was visiting this country, and I asked him how these plans were working. I expected a lengthy reply which, if not enthusiastic, would be at least sweetened with hope and encouragement. But the reply was brief.

"They are not working," he said. "The machinery is there, but there is no will on the part of either management or labor to make them work."

This is something for the American enthusiasts to think about. In the last few years we have seen grow up an Industry Council Association behind the leadership of Rev. William J. Kelley, O.M.I., former chairman of the New York State Labor Relations Board, a forceful and persuasive personality who knows his way around. Father Kelley's group is also working closely with the Industry Council Plan Committee of the American Catholic Sociological Society. Under the energetic chairmanship of Brother Gerald Schnepp, S.M., of St. Louis University, this committee sends out questionnaires and reports at a great rate and has now arrived at that state of intellectual ripeness and self-assurance where it threatens to publish a pamphlet in which it will answer the $64 question, "What is the Industry Council Plan?"

I wish them Godspeed. And as a small guide in their labors I offer them the experience of a man I know, a Catholic who is a business agent in a typical local in one of our larger American cities.

THIS man had read *Quadragesimo Anno*. He believed in it, passionately. He had also read that classic, "The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy," by a couple of non-Catholic enthusiasts, Clinton Golden, former vice-president of the United Steelworkers, and Harold Ruttenberg, former research director of same. Finally, he had read the reports of the War Production Board, of World War II, describing the work done in setting up some five thousand joint production committees (now mostly defunct) which proved that labor and management could cooperate under the impulse of a simple and basic slogan such as "Beat Hitler."

He thought he would do something modest, within



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his range. He sold his local officers and members on proposing a joint production committee to three of the companies with whom they had contracts. There were plenty of good arguments for it. The industry was shrinking and it looked as though one company would go out of business. The purpose of the committee was "to improve production, increase efficiency and eliminate waste" by pooling the experience and know-how of the workers with that of management.

The reaction of management was interesting. The unsuccessful company, which needed it most, was most indignant. "This is a violation of management prerogatives!" the company spokesman protested. (P.S. They had to sell out to a new owner several years later.) The most profitable company was the most polite. "We appreciate your attitude," they said. But they preferred their little luncheons with key employees and their cash prizes for money-saving suggestions to any real, living system of industrial democracy. The president of the third company, a man wise in the ways of the world, looked at the business agent as though finally convinced that the man was not in possession of all his marbles.

The union's international executive board learned of this proposal and ordered the local union to withdraw it from negotiations.

Their complaint: the union did not have union shop contracts or provisions giving full job security. It had maintenance of membership provisions, check-offs, arbitration of discharges for reasons other than "reduction in size of staff." This was not enough. The board said, "Until such time as we attain security for our organization we would be very foolish indeed to cooperate where we are not considered to be equals."

And so this local must go on risking the complete collapse of one of its companies and the loss of the jobs of three hundred of its members. And in that day there will be no union security and no job security because there will be no union and no jobs—period.

But then I forgot—the employers don't want cooperation either.

I think this experience is typical. Labor leaders will think up many excuses, differing one from the other, but the end result is the same: they don't want increased responsibility for management decisions. And management doesn't want to let go of its grip on responsibility.

But I think all of them are fighting a losing fight. For as a man matures, he proceeds from control by others to control by himself. I believe this, and believing it, I believe that if we can continue our development in a normal, healthy way, we must proceed to some such system. But it will not come tomorrow, or the day after. For "normal, healthy development" is not to be won easily.

JOHN C. CORT.

# THE SCREEN

### *"THIS SCEPTER'D ISLE"*

EVEN if you did hear the broadcast of the Coronation and did see the events on TV and did read endlessly in newspapers and magazines about the whole thing before, during and after the big day, don't miss the eighty-six-minute documentary called "A Queen Is Crowned." Although this handsome film was made in what is practically record time (it opened in New York four days after the Coronation), it is no hasty compilation of newsreel shots; but a carefully planned, expertly edited record of a historic occasion.

Produced by Castleton Knight and presented by J. Arthur Rank, "A Queen Is Crowned" is a first-rate documentary in Technicolor that does full justice to costumes, setting and pageantry. To say that its narration, written by Christopher Fry, is chauvinistic is putting it mildly; but after all, this was Britain's big day. Laurence Olivier eloquently reads the commentary, starting with "This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England" from "Richard II" (while the camera wanders over the rocky and chalky coast, the lovely English countryside and the homes of "this happy breed").

We hear some of the ritual, the Queen's responses, the fine voices of the Royal Choral Society, the cheering crowds and the spirited bands of the colorful marchers. Although the Communion Service and the Anointing are not shown, the well-placed motion picture cameras capture the dignity and beauty of the rituals in the handsome old chapel. Occasionally the camera steals a close-up of Elizabeth or a glance at the Queen Mother, Margaret, Charles or Philip. From time to time you may wish that the film had a few more personal touches, but this is a public record of a rite, and motion pictures, edited as they are, can see no more than the public sees; but they do have the advantage of seeing the sum-total of all the public's views. This film shows much more than any one watcher would have seen on June second—including some magnificent shots of the onlookers themselves.

FOR those who prefer other kinds of fairy tales, there's Stanley Kramer's handsome production "The 5,000 Fingers of Dr. T." This delightful fantasy by the fantastic Dr. Seuss is about a little boy who hates piano lessons and dreams up a dream in which Dr. Terwilliker, his piano teacher, is an ogre with five hundred captive pupils.

Roy Rowland's direction of the clever script is a little plodding at times and lacks the imaginative flare



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that such a pleasantly nightmarish story should have. But Tommy Rettig is charming as the youngster who is certain that the piano is not his instrument; and the cast surrounding him come through with winning performances, especially Mary Healy as his mother who seems to be hypnotised by the insidious Dr. T.; Peter Lind Hayes as the plumber who helps the desperate boy out of his jam; Hans Conried as the music teacher with a one-track mind; and Noel Cravat as Dr. T.'s husky Sergeant Lunk. Although the picture is not entirely consistent in visualizing the workings of a boy's mind and gets too sophisticated at times (as in the ballet of the non-piano players for which Eugene Loring concocted good choreography) the film as a whole has enough surprises to win both young and old in the audience.

YOU'LL find a couple of pleasant surprises in "Dangerous When Wet," too, even if you're not an Esther Williams fan. The story doesn't take itself too seriously; and Miss Williams on land or sea exudes much good health. In fact, her whole family, headed by Charlotte Greenwood and William Demarest as ma and pa, are blooming with health. Their motto is "Take care of the body and the brain will take care of itself." So when Jack Carson comes along with an advertising project that includes swimming the English Channel, Esther and family are all set to go. Fernando Lamas provides desultory love interest. Other than the Channel swim, the picture's most fascinating feature is an underwater ballet done with animated cartoons in which Tom and Jerry have a good romping swim with Esther. I particularly liked Lamas' voice under water.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

# OF NOTE

### *TOTALITARIANISM*

IN the current *Dublin Review* [28 Ashley Place, London, S.W.1], Romano Guardini writes about the Nazi campaign against the Jews, and goes on to some more general remarks about the totalitarian state. Excerpts follow:

> Earlier ages have known moral injustice and the spirit of violence and cruelty. But these things still operated somehow or other within the framework of acknowledged standards of humanity. This limiting framework of traditional standards has now been transgressed. The human personality has been cancelled out. The land beyond good and evil has been entered and a place more terrible than evil itself has been reached: the place where the basis and beginning of all ethical absolutes, the human person, is extinguished. Man is now considered a mere thing to be treated mechanically. He is labeled a "bourgeois" or a member of this or that national group; he can be eliminated because he went to the wrong school. He has no claim to honor, convictions of his own, freedom or life; none at all. He is only a thing.
>
> This kind of thinking, this way of dealing with man, this obliteration of all human rights, combined with scientific rationalism and technical precision—this is the new factor in the history of our age; this is the danger that threatens deeper destruction than all the atom bombs and bacterial weapons put together; this is the danger that causes the overriding fear of our age: the fear of openly proclaimed and rationally established inhumanity, working with all the expedients of administrative and mechanical techniques.
>
> All this did not emerge from a vacuum. A long process which began at the opening of the modern age led up to it. I do not mean that it was an inevitable process; there are no inevitable processes in history. The concept of inevitable processes is itself an expedient of totalitarian systems. It is a false concept and an immoral concept. All historical events, even the most far-reaching, begin with personal decisions. And these are free. In all historical processes, even the most powerful, the freedom to surrender to or resist the prevailing trend remains; but a tendency to undermine this freedom has long been at work. Various factors have combined to produce it. Above all, economic, social, technical and cultural problems have outgrown the possibilities of individual action—the more so as world-embracing problems make it increasingly urgent to co-ordinate all individual initiatives in a single solution. There is the additional fact that it has become increasingly easy to order men and things about. The various techniques of information and knowledge and of exploiting knowledge; the power of publicity which forces the private life of the individual out of existence—all this is increasing in strength and scientific precision. It is becoming increasingly easy to control men and materials. . . .
>
> Finally, the consciousness of a divine Power to whom man is accountable for his historical actions and in whom earthly life finds its ultimate meaning is fading. This is not to imply that individuals are becoming increasingly irreligious; but public consciousness is moving increasingly away from religious categories. Religion is retiring to the "inner world"; the whole existence of man is being crammed into the purely secular.
>
> From all this the idea arises that the state must



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be completely free to embrace and mold the whole of life. It must be emphasized again, however, that this state initiative need not inevitably lead to totalitarianism. On the contrary, the question which confronts us is whether the state is going to regard this ultimate freedom of action as a mere opportunity for extending its power or as a moral task. The idea of a state that has no standards above itself, but acts according to purely political expediency, is enormously alluring. And we have every reason to examine how far modern thought, even on the highest levels of philosophical speculation, has already succumbed to this temptation, not merely in Europe and not merely in Germany. It is alarming to note the extent to which people in other European countries and outside Europe are inclined to feel themselves immune from this danger and to regard what has taken place in Germany as a purely German evil and catastrophe. Such blindness might easily lead to the rise of a seemingly democratic but in reality totalitarian conception of the State. . . .

What I wanted to draw your attention to was the fact that there is a monstrosity in the history of our last twenty years that we have not yet even begun to deal with. It is a fact, whether we like it or not, and whatever is said or done to deny, or trivialize, or even justify it, is only a symptom of the depth of the evil. It is a crime that weighs, consciously or unconsciously, on the conscience of the people. It demands to be cleared up. Beyond that, however, it is the first example in the Western world of the frightful possibilities that hang over the history of the future. It is therefore a warning. . . .

Let me recall once more what a University is. I said at the beginning that it is the place where truth is investigated for its own sake. I said further that it is the place where human affairs are measured by the standards of the great past. I must now add that the University is the place where the most alert sense of responsibility for the commonality must be alive. You know how deeply the whole purpose of our academic world is being questioned today; how many people see in it the useless privilege of an out-of-date society. To justify its right to exist, the demand is now being made that students should turn their attention to political life; study political programs and institutions; even take part in the work of political parties. No doubt there is something to be said for this, but it must not be allowed to crowd out the work that can be done in the University as nowhere else: the work of understanding what is happening now by a study of man and of human history and society in the past; perceiving the innate tendencies of our own age; reaching a genuine verdict on these tendencies and seeing the tasks and problems that result from them.



***BOOKS***

# Their Profession Was War

## NORBERT MUHLEN

PRUSSIA has ceased to exist, together with many other things German, since the year 1945. A Prussian nation, in the strict sense, never existed at all; what did exist—and very much so, for a long time—was a Prussian State, and a Prussian Army. In fact, Prussia was an army that had a country, rather than a country that had an army, as Count de Mirabeau shrewdly remarked.

The German General Staff—which, as long as it remained true to itself, was the Prussian General Staff—is a focal point on which the military, political and social histories of Germany converge, since Prussia came more and more to be the central force of Germany. A fraternity of specialized military planners and theoreticians, the General Staff of Prussia-Germany reflected the very reasons of the history which it made: Prussia was born from a sequence of successful wars and survived by her preparedness for new wars, sometimes her preparation of new wars; Germany—whose unique geographic position afflicted her with a deep-set insecurity complex—had to plan and prepare almost continuously for a next war whose imminence was more sure than was the identity of the enemy.

Since the General Staff was as professionally preoccupied with war as, say, a physician with disease, it came to be identified with, and blamed for, all the wars which Prussia, and subsequently Germany, fought. In foreign eyes, the General Staff became the symbol of Prussian-German militarism and aggressiveness—a hated and fearsome symbol.

Another reason the German General Staff became so much disliked, if not repulsive in non-German eyes—and also in many German eyes, for that matter—was the social and ethical world of its members, which led to a distinctive type of "General Staff Man." Deeply steeped in a Lutheran fundamentalism of peculiar Brandenburgian and East Elbian coloring, based on an economically decaying and outlived agrarian feudalism, faithful to his King and corps above everything else, the monocled, uniformed, usually quite uncultured, often arrogant and ill-mannered General Staff Man (as the type had emerged *circa* 1850) gloried in his limitations as a military specialist, and his two supreme values—"Duty" and "Obedience." When the General Staff

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man tried to uphold these values in a century in which different values superseded them, the degeneration—in a military as well as in a social and moral sense—of the General Staff had set in.

WALTER Goerlitz, a German historian of the younger generation, has written a book [*History of the German General Staff: 1657-1945*. Translated by Brian Battershaw. Praeger. $7.50.] which might well be called "Shame and Glory of the German General Staff." In a very readable, factual and perceptive, always illuminating and occasionally brilliant narrative, Dr. Goerlitz reports the life-story of military Prussia, as it went its adventurous way from birth in the Thirty Years War to death in the Second World War. From this story there emerge fascinating glimpses into the military mind in action, and a close acquaintance with the men who made the General Staff, and the men who were made by it.

After the General Staff had achieved its first triumph in the Napoleonic War, its second great victory—over neo-Napoleonic France in 1871—sounded its death-knell, though the tolling was all but inaudible at the time. The victory opened the new German era of industrialization, social mass movements, liberal ideas, colonial imperialism, and the dissolution—and sometimes dissoluteness—of the junkers' elite; and every one of these factors contributed mightily to disintegrate the idea, power, personnel, and scope of the Prussian General Staff.

Almost one half of Dr. Goerlitz's book is devoted to the General Staff officers under the Third Reich. The overwhelming majority of the General Staff men had opposed the coming of the Nazis, though often only for reasons of caste and taste. When, however, a number of factors beyond General Staff control—economic catastrophe, the Communist threat, the nationalistic short-sightedness of Germany's neighbor countries—combined to give the Nazis their big chance to scheme their way into power, the General Staff concluded with them an uneasy, naive, arrogant alliance. In their view, the Nazis became the State which they were duty-bound to serve in obedience. And the Nazis succeeded in creating a State which again equipped the General Staff with an army and a mass following. Finally, the Allies granted rather generously to the Nazis those German demands on the international scene which they had refused to the peaceful, lawful Weimar Republic.

But with every year the Nazis were in power, their terroristic methods and hybrid aims became more and more incompatible with the residue of old-fashioned Prussian ethics and common sense which the officers caste tried to uphold. As early as 1937, some of the General Staff officers began seriously to conspire for the overthrow of Nazism and for a return to law, order and "a decent State." Most officers remained confused. Their conflict between military oath and their genuine duty, between their traditional and their natural obligations deepened; this was a war in their minds and their hearts which they could not plan and win by the "art of war as a matter of mathematic calculations" as they had learned it. In fact, most of them seemed childishly helpless about their own duty on that unknown new terrain.

Yet ax-grinding simplifications and generalizations notwithstanding, there was no close and abject alliance between Sword and Swastika. Hitler hated and distrusted the General Staff on the whole as much as he did other, more openly proclaimed "enemy groups." Though often too late, though often in tragic incertainty, many members of the General Staff found, or were forced upon, the road of rebellion against the ruling evil.

"In all," Dr. Goerlitz relates, "out of about eight hundred General Staff officers, approximately one hundred and fifty had found death upon the home front of this war. . . ." That is, they were executed by Hitler's hangmen, or forced by him to commit suicide. Others survived only in concentration camps. In addition to those killed in battle, or living in retirement, nearly the whole of the old Army Command was out of Nazi service before the war ended.

THEIR guilt had not been that they played a leading part in unleashing the Second World War—as even the international court in Nuremberg had to concede. Their guilt had been that—while they were in a position more responsible than most other Germans, while in their hands was actual power—they had shared the irresponsibility of most other Germans toward the community and common good, by being *unpolitische*, "un-political" specialists obeying those in authority of the State, rather than citizens obedient to the laws of their conscience. For some of these officers, the Nazi evil was an evil they committed; for others, an evil they underwent and suffered; for some others again, an evil which they bravely resisted. Among these three basic attitudes, there were almost as many variations as there were individuals on the General Staff.

This picture, truthfully and knowledgeably drawn by Dr. Goerlitz, differs rather widely from the crude poster-art manufactured by propaganda machines out of the legitimate fears and antagonisms of several decades. His book is an important contribution to military and European history, filled with material of great interest to students of sociology and biography, and enjoyable and profitable reading for those non-specialists whose curiosity about our time is not exhausted by their study of the newspaper columns.



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# A Victorian Proto-Martyr of the Arts

A HOPKINS READER. Edited by John Pick. Oxford. $4.50.

By MARSHALL McLUHAN

THIS selection from the Poems, Notebooks, and Letters has long been needed, because the bulk and expansiveness of the various volumes have kept them from general attention. A notable feature of Professor Pick's excellent introduction is his concentration on the poetic and technical features of Hopkins' art, suggesting that there is no longer any need to explain or defend Hopkins the Catholic priest. Even fifteen years ago there seemed to be something quite extraordinary in the mere existence of contemporary poetic experiment and achievement in relation to the hidden life of a Victorian Catholic. That is no longer the case.

To say even this much is to suggest several issues concerning the strange case of Father Hopkins. Now that the work of the French symbolists has been domesticated in English by the general acceptance of Eliot's *Four Quartets,* it is quite plain that Hopkins is thoroughly Victorian. His work is the fruition of English impressionism. And the key to impressionism whether in Keats, Ruskin, Pater, Whitman, or Ford Madox Ford, is not just fidelity to the external world, but careful attention to the stages of human apprehension of that world. It is this preoccupation with the cognitive drama which gives such verve and precision to the verse and prose of Hopkins. It explains his passion for etymology as well. Here is a passage from his journal which illustrates how his interest in words, in the poetic process, and in the natural order of events in the workaday world is always the same interest:

> Robert says the first grass from the scythe is the *swathe,* then comes the *strow* (tedding), then *rowing,* then the footcocks, then *breaking,* then the *hubrows,* . . . then sometimes another break and *turning.* . . .

That kind of passage also explains why the estheticism of the Pre-Raphaelites had such deep alignments both with metaphysics and social revolution. The power of Marxism is not unrelated to its very Aristotelian doctrine that the forms of human work and production are analogues of cognitive and other activities. The Marxist and the Thomist share a cognitive theory of art.

The poetic theories of the Pre-Raphaelites and of Hopkins have much of the same radical character that led Morris to the extreme Communist position and Hopkins to the Church.

Living at a time when human communication had thoroughly broken down due to the rapid shift in the mechanical means of communication, Hopkins and his generation were compelled to think intensely about the nature of human communication (or society) and the role of the arts. However, one is faced in his prose by the discrepancy between the sharp insight into problems and his total lack of a sense of an audience. His prose has no audience dimension because there was no audience to relate it to. Another way of putting it is to say that the Victorian age in extending its communications in space had lost its lines of communication in time. The flat communal tonelessness of that time caused the individual voice to strain and shrill for effect. (Newman, as Hopkins notes, simply adopted the tone of private conversation of an Oxford don.) Perhaps the reason that we today find the Victorian culture so narrow is that we have spent the past fifty years in re-establishing multiple lines of communication with the human past, via archaeology, anthropology, and psychology.

To us today it seems a scandal that a major poet should have to live and die amidst indifference and contempt during the very years when Tennyson was made a multi-millionaire by the sale of his verse. Moreover, in Hopkins' day there were a hundred readers of poetry for every one there is today. But our few readers have been submitted to a much stiffer training than they. And today we have a theory of poetic communication which raises the level of awareness of language by seeing it as gesture of the mind. This awareness in Hopkins made composition laborious, but it also made it possible for him to include the entire cognitive drama in the rhythms of his lines.

For those who come to the prose of Hopkins for the first time there will be the new delight of finding him an encyclopedic guide to the arts, letters, and sciences of his day. And he touches all these matters with the tact and precision of a great talent.

> . . . I would have you and Canon Dixon and all true poets remember that fame, the being known, though in itself one of the most dangerous things to man, is nevertheless the true and appointed air, element, and setting of genius and its works. What are works of art for? to educate and be standards. Education is for the many, standards are for public use. To produce then is of little use unless what we produce is known . . . for it is by being known it works, it influences, it does its duty, it does good. We must then try to be known, aim at it, take means to it.

If a talent such as Hopkins were to be among us today its chances of recognition would be as slim as his were in 1870. Pound, Eliot, and Joyce soon discovered that they could communicate by letter with all the serious minds of their time. The role of the printed book was merely for delayed action, a message in a bottle. By the time Hopkins had got into print the relevance and impact of his experiments were mainly past. That is what being "accepted" means. The function of new art is to reorganize perception and impulse. So that an art that doesn't disturb and annoy, at first, is meaningless. But in that connection, "fame" is "feedback," as the cybernetics people say. And "feed-



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back" is necessary for getting bearings. It is perhaps the essential character of the new mass media of communication that no feedback is possible. A person can be a divinity in radio or pictures and yet remain a lonely, isolated private figure with no experience of his audience. Yet this divorce between the artist and the public, seemingly inherent in our new media, is fatal for the arts. It starves them and misguides them. Hopkins was an early victim of this situation, a kind of proto-martyr of the arts. We have not begun to solve or understand the problems that faced him.

## Variations

NOT HEAVEN. By Waldo Frank. Hermitage. $3.50.

By CAROL H. WEISS

THIS is not a novel in the usual sense. It looks like a collection of short stories. But Waldo Frank explains that *Not Heaven* is a pioneer attempt to extend the frontiers of the novel. In place of the accepted unities of time, place, and action, it is based on a single unifying theme. Separate episodes develop its theme from a variety of angles, and to highlight the underlying pattern, such fortuitous relationships as time and place are purposely eliminated.

The title is from Christopher Marlowe: "All places shall be hell that is not Heaven." This is the central premise of the book. It is spelled out further by quotations from Saint Catherine of Genoa: "Nothing burns in Hell but the Self," and from Saint Luke: "Behold, the kingdom of God is within you." Mr. Frank's stories—or what he prefers to call variations on the theme—show a series of highly disparate individuals responding to their crisis in ways that range up the scale from blindness to total awareness of the nature and location of heaven.

If Mr. Frank wants to call this a novel, I see no objection. That there is a unifying theme is obvious, although it is possibly no more pervasive than in any collection of stories by an author with one strong central idea.

The episodes in *Not Heaven* are an unusual lot. Some of them have the powerful impact of emotions strongly felt and communicated. Others are strange only because the author has an arbitrary predilection for the eccentric. The best of the stories probe through layers of familiar superficiality to touch the agonizing nerve of each man's consciousness of his own meager self.

The people lead hollow and tormented lives, and in their search of meaning, they become lost in a maze of crooked paths. Reason is as treacherous a guide as vengeance, good will is as disastrous as fear. The prim New England spinster, devoted to her committees and her charities, finds her reasonable world shattered by a jar of syrup unexplainably sitting in her immaculate kitchen. A humanitarian preacher who has given up his career to come closer to the people and find the way of action through love for


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them, goes to work as a tailor in a poor immigrant neighborhood. Imperceptibly his zeal subsides into lethargy, and when a mob breaks into the shop of the one man who has befriended him, he watches from the street, silent.

Nobody in these pages consciously turns to religion for understanding. The approaches to heaven seem to be recognition of the limits of the conscious self, a feeling for the continuity of life through the family, and self-sacrificing love. Mr. Frank evidently regards religion as an externalization; enlightment must come from within, and the practice of religion is irrelevant.

Only one or two of the stories suffer from their use as illustrations of the author's theme. The final story, the example of total ecstatic awareness of man's unity with the universe, is the most obvious victim. Despite the exotic background—South American pampas, an idealistic poet captured by the ruthless *caudillo* and left to die sewn in the hide of a steer—this is largely, and properly, an essay.

# The Fatal Payment

THE CAPTIVE MIND. By Czeslaw Milosz. Knopf. $3.50.

By WILLIAM P. CLANCY

CZESLAW Milosz is a Polish poet. During the war he was active in the anti-Nazi underground. In 1946 he entered the diplomatic service of the new Polish government (although he was not then, or ever, a member of the Party) and was stationed at the Polish Embassy in both Washington and Paris as a member of the Cultural Affairs Division. He broke with the Warsaw government in 1951 and since then has lived as an exile in Paris.

His new book, *The Captive Mind,* is a series of essays and portraits which study the situation of the intellectual in the post-war Peoples' Democracies. A remark attributed to "an old Jew of Galicia" introduces the book:

> When someone is honestly 55% right, that's very good and there's no use wrangling. And if someone is 60% right, it's wonderful, it's great luck, and let him thank God. But what's to be said about 75% right? Wise people say this is suspicious. Well, and what about 100% right? Whoever says he's 100% right is a fanatic, a thug, and the worst kind of rascal.

The remark is pertinent. Mr. Milosz' "Captive Mind" is the mind which believes itself "100% right." The reason for this certitude? History. Convinced that the only "correct" modes of thought and action are those which conform to historical dialectic, the "Captive Mind" has made a total commitment to the present and future as dialectic reads them. The captive mind is thus, ultimately, the history-enslaved mind. And the "history" to which it is enslaved is conceived to be both inexorable and infallible.

"It seems," Mr. Milosz observes, "that differentiation between the Stalinist and anti-Stalinist left presents insurmountable difficulties to all the police in the world." Since a similar difficulty exists for the "po-


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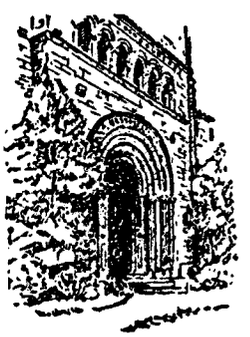

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lice" (I presume that the author means the totalitarian mind) in differentiating between the fascist and the anti-fascist right, *The Captive Mind* is a book which would inspire animosity in a representative of either extreme. Neither could understand it.

For Mr. Milosz is (to extend a distinction made by Hannah Arendt) a *former,* not an *ex,* fellow traveler. During the years in which he served the Polish Communist government he refused to make the total commitment to that government's ideology. He broke with it when such a commitment became the price of his remaining. Now, I presume, he would refuse to commit himself wholly to the kind of one-hundred per cent anti-Communism which passes as political orthodoxy in parts of the West. He continues to say "maybe."

I would guess that, using the language of his "old Jew of Galicia," he might see the ratio of justice between East and West as something like sixty-forty, with the sixty on this side of the Iron Curtain. And for this, he would say, it's great luck, and let us thank God. But he would remind us that, in the process of self-congratulation, we should not lose compassion for some on the other side who, dazzled by the forty per cent which they believe valid in their world, have loaned themselves also to the sixty per cent which is death.

Men who have so loaned themselves are studied in this book through portraits of four Polish writers. All were personal friends of the author. All were, at the beginning, anti-Stalinist. All, eventually, gave themselves to "history" as history is understood in that world where a man must be either "100% right"—or nothing. These writers (with what anguish Mr. Milosz lets us know) chose something—*their* country, *the* future. Believing they could escape neither, they chose to come to terms with both.

The four Polish writers are: "Alpha, the Moralist" (who needed a vision to serve); "Beta the Disappointed Lover" (who hated the inhumanity of the old order and want-


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ed to make a new one); "Gamma the Slave of History" (who had to be part of the future); and "Delta the Troubador" (who needed a place to sing). Each of these, for complex reasons, swallowed "the pill of Murti-Bing" (the act which accepts the "new order," the "new faith," "history," and ends the introspective agonies of yearning for a world which is past; by this act of the intellect and will one places himself in harmony with the new world that *is*). Each thus became a captive of a world he had not made but in which he decided he must live.

Living in it, each had, perforce, to practice some form of "ketman" (a subtle deception of the powers-that-be to hide whatever doubts of their worth one might harbor), but the reward was great—public peace, usefulness, and the knowledge that one had made his peace with "history."

Mr. Milosz refused to pay the price which "history" demands: he would not swallow the pill; he could not be "100% right." And so he "chose freedom"—but not as some others have chosen it. He knows the horror of the "captive mind," but he knows also the anguish and doubt that made captivity seem, for some, a plausible price to pay for relief.

He knows complexity and compassion, pity and fear. His book has all of these. It is thus tremendously moving—and tremendously disturbing to our easy complacencies. And so, in the final analysis, it is tremendously valuable. It is, in fact, one of the most moving, and disturbing, and valuable books I have read in a very long time.


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# Film Maker

THE WORLD OF ROBERT FLAHERTY. By Richard Griffith. Duell, Sloan and Pearce—Little, Brown. $5.

By ANDREW WALSH ROBERTS

THERE is acrid symbolism to be found in the fact that "Nanook of the North," Robert Flaherty's first film, could be unveiled to the general public in 1922 at New York's Capitol Theater only if it were shown together with Harold Lloyd's "Grandma's Boy." For most of his career "the father of the documentary film" and his work were forced to occupy a second billing. Although he succeeded in creating less than ten films in about twenty-five years, Flaherty's work brought about many and immeasurable changes in pictures made in Hollywood and other film centers. Despite this fact, he was not widely known.

In preparing this book, Richard Griffith, who is curator of the Museum of Modern Art Film Library and an admirer and friend of the movie maker, not only examined a store of documents and memorabilia and turned to the advice of Flaherty's wife and brother but also showed the bulk of the manuscript to Flaherty himself before his death. And yet Flaherty enthusiasts—and indeed Flaherty himself—deserve a less disappointing study.

It is not the author's refusal to write "a book about Flaherty's contributions to the motion picture, or even about his films as such" that is most regrettable. There is a certain sense of rightness in choosing to write instead about the man and his experiences, "the stuff of which the films are made." But the manner of carrying out this admittedly restricted but appropriate intention is disappointing. Mr. Griffith felt that he could do the portrait of Flaherty and his world "in the most vivid way" possible by allowing others to do most of it: Flaherty himself, his wife, and Pat Mullen, the Flahertys' assistant extraordinary while on the Aran Islands.

What emerges from *The World of Robert Flaherty* is a series of sketches that offer some of the facts and a few of the insights as well as the intense color of the subject but which do not make up a really penetrating portrait of Flaherty nor a complete plan of his world. And much that Flaherty fans would like to know is left out or skimmed over. One wonders, without much guidance or direction, about Flaherty's actual day-to-day working methods, about his frustrated plans and projects and above all about his ideas on the motion picture as an art form.

To compensate for such disappointments there is what is probably the main virtue of *The World of Robert Flaherty,* the fact that Mr. Griffith has provided, primarily through the many passages by Flaherty and by those who knew him and through the seventy-odd photographs and stills, the means to experience again some of the feeling of seeing the films. For Flaherty enthusiasts, that may be more than enough for now.

**REVIEWERS**

**Marshall McLuhan is a member of the faculty of Saint Michael's College, the University of Toronto.**

**Carol H. Weiss reviews regularly for this magazine.**

**Andrew Walsh Roberts is a critic whose home is in New Jersey.**



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# Civil Liberties

The Fifties are suffering a severe reaction from the strenuous acts of personal justification that marked the Thirties, and the sudden catapulting into the bannered regimentation and unabated patriotism of the long war years. We have been told for so long that the only acceptable foreign policy is bipartisan, that the only tenable domestic policy is conformist and uniformist, and that the perfect citizen is silent, agreeable, and perpetually in step.

Now even more stringent facts face the young citizen in his choice of political philosophy: the strainer for government jobs is closer meshed than ever and the successful candidate is always fodder for big investigative guns; the universities want no trouble with trustees or legislatures in these days of hard-pressed budgets; private industry has leaped joyfully to the adoption of the loyalty oath, wondering why they didn't think of it a long time ago.

To a certain extent this tightening has been a good thing. It has caught a few disloyal and potentially dangerous persons but in another sense it has been unfortunate. It has hushed some frightened young voices that should, for the future benefit of their points-of-view, now be trying out their liberal chords on small issues, flexing their muscles in the acts of public interest and welfare, accustoming their eyes to discerning injustice and social hardship without inbred class prejudice.

It would seem as if this era of public confession and the Big Scare will serve to harden them in the comfortable safeties of conservatism, expedient political faith and reaction long before the softening agents of public concern and sympathy have had a chance to do their work.

—DORIS GRUMBACH
in The Commonweal
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